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ABSTRACT

This document consists of a report on the Minor Field Studies (MFS) program of the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) and contains two MFS papers by teacher trainees at the Malmo School of Education in Sweden. The papers presented are "Drop-outs in Orissa," by Elisabeth Rosen, and "Education in India: A Study of Drop-Out Children in Orissa," by Anna Hedstrom. The study reports penetrate the important problem of dropouts in Indian schools, but treat the subject from different angles, and so complement each other. These two students were trainees in a junior and secondary school teacher training program and wrote their papers during their early terms in basic teacher training. Dropout is one of the biggest educational problems in schools in India. After a short time many children, especially girls, leave school. The reasons are numerous, very often related to poverty, but also to tradition. The first study is an attempt to point out different dropout situations in cities, villages, and with tribes in the Indian state of Orissa. Specific connections between a child's environment and the cause for becoming a dropout are explored. Dropout problems in different areas are attributed to the need to have children contribute to the family income among some castes and tribes, teacher dropout, lack of communication between parents and school, and accessibility of schools. The second study attributes dropout to lack of motivation brought about by a complex interaction of factors including socioeconomic status, social contacts, and material possessions. (DK)

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Drop-out in schools in India

Minor Field Studies in Orissa 1990

GUDRUN EKSTRAND (ED.)

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DROP-OUT IN SCHOOLS IN INDIA
Minor Field Studies in Orissa 1990

Gudrun Ekstrand (Ed.)

Ekstrand, G. (Ed.) Drop-out in schools in India: Minor Field Studies in Orissa 1990. *Educational and Psychological Interactions* (Malmö, Sweden: School of Education), No. 112, 1992.

The report presents two Minor Field Studies papers by teacher trainees at the Malmö School of Education. The reports, *Drop-outs in Orissa*, by Elisabeth Rosén, and *Education in India, A study of Drop-out Children in Orissa*, by Anna Hedström, penetrate the important problem of drop-out in Indian schools. The reports are complementary to each other, and treat the subject from different angles.

Keywords: Cultural values, developing countries, development work, drop-out, India, Orissa, primary education, secondary education, socialization.

INTRODUCTION

In 1988 the development and exchange project *Children in India* was launched. It comprises about a dozen activities, one of which is "Minor Field Studies" (MFS), financed by the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA).

During 1990, eight MFS students from Malmö School of Education visited Orissa in India. The MFS programme of the Malmö School of Education is by no means restricted to India. However, more than ten years of research connections between Malmö and Orissa have made India a well-known and attractive target, not only for MFS research studies, but also for other exchange activities. In 1991, another six MFS students visited Orissa, five teacher trainees from the Preschool and Comprehensive School options, and one recently graduated lawyer.

The eight students in 1990 were the first ever to be sent from the Malmö School of Education. They were chosen from different teacher training options. Two of them came from the YPL Department, the Vocational Teacher Training Programme. Another two students came from the Preschool Teacher Training Programme. Finally four students represented the Junior and Secondary School Teacher Training Programme. In present report two papers from this last mentioned group are presented.

What are Minor Field Studies?

The main goal of the SIDA MFS program, is to broaden the resource and recruitment base by giving students an opportunity to come into contact with practical development work, especially in countries where Sweden has program activities, through SIDA or other development organisations.

I believe that it is very important for teacher trainees to take part in MFS activities, for many reasons. In their future roles as teachers, they will be very important information sources to their students regarding developing countries. This may generate an interest in development issues which in turn may serve to broaden the resource basis in Sweden.

Not only SIDA. but all other national development agencies, as well as international development organizations, notably those of the United Nations' various agencies, as well as many voluntary organizations, are

recruiting development workers. Most educational assignments deal with curriculum development and planning, but there are also occasional teaching assignments. As the MFS students pursue their teaching careers in Sweden, they will become increasingly qualified to take up such assignments, even if they may not do so immediately after training. Finally, they act as motivators and catalysts within teacher training itself.

There is of necessity a great variation in extent and quality of the reports from MFS students. The variation is mainly due to the students' type and level of training, their subject area, and their education in colleges and universities. They may write their report as part of their graduation work, or even when enrolled in Ph. D. studies. Other students, like the two students represented in this report, do the MFS study during their early terms in their basic teacher training. Their MFS report may be the first major report they have ever written at the university level.

Drop-out is one of the biggest educational problem in schools in India. After a short time many children, especially girls, leave school. The reasons are numerous, very often related to poverty, but also to tradition. The two reports *Drop-outs in Orissa*, by Elisabeth Rosén, and *Education in India, A study of Drop-out Children in Orissa,* by Anna Hedström, penetrate this important problem. The reports are complementary to each other, and treat the subject from different angles. The authors were trainees in the Junior and Secondary School Teacher Training Programme.

The papers are given here in the shape in which they were presented. Very little editing has been done. However, some language polishing has been performed by Sven Fjelner. My intention is to preserve the authenticity of the reports.

Gudrun Ekstrand

MFS-coordinator

The school of Education in Malmö

DROP-OUTS IN ORISSA
A Minor Field Study

Elisabeth Rosén

DROP-OUTS IN ORISSA
A Minor Field Study

Elisabeth Rosén

**Lund University, School of Education in Malmö,
Junior and secondary school teacher programme 1991**

INTRODUCTION

Since I find education one of the most important things for the development of a nation I would like to take part in it. Therefore I am to become a future teacher in primary schools and I also have hopes of teaching in undeveloped countries where the needs of education are greater than anywhere else.

In the spring of 1990 the Line for Primary School-teachers in Malmö decided that students may exchange some of their school practice in Sweden into school practice in undeveloped countries. The reason for this decision is based on a "Children in India project" founded in 1988 by Prof Lars Henric Ekstrand and Dr Gudrun Ekstrand, together with Prof Radhanath Rath (Department of Educational and Psychological Research. School of Education, Lund University). The aims of this project are:

a) Solidarity with developing countries, especially India.

b) A two-way communication through a mutual exchange of knowledge and tradition.

c) A global teaching education.

d) To find social and ecology alternatives to a material lifestyle.

e) Peace through culture-exchange and mutual understanding.

f) To get to know, respect and learn from the other culture.

(P.3. "Children in India and Sweden", Pedagogical and psychological problems nr: 548, Lars Henric Ekstrand).

This meant that my four weeks of schoolpractice in Primary school 1990-11-11 - 1991-12-19 were to be spent in Orissa, India. In order to prepare ourselves for the journey to come, SIDA (Swedish International Development Authority) arranged a course to inform us more about developing countries in general. This study therefore serves the purpose of being a "Minor Field Study" on behalf of SIDA and on the other hand as a Special project within the directions of the School of Education in Malmö.

Elisabeth Rosén

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1. AIMS OF THE STUDY

To find out specific reasons for being a drop-out and effects on drop-outs in Primary schools in Orissa.

1.1 THE CONDITIONS OF THE STUDY

Before I give further details about this study I would like to present conditions which have been infavourable and can therefore be criticized when brought up against similar studies in the future.

a) At first I would like to point out that a period of one month is altogether too short a time in order to receive any information of relevance. Above all there must be time to understand the cultural differences which actually affects one's enterprising spirit. SIDA recommended at least two months for a Minor Field Study, but since this was an exchange of practice the time was confined to one month. In cases like this I must say there has to be a choice. Either you write and report and have the time you need, or you do not and concentrate yourself in learning and trying to get experience as much as you can.

b) As a rule on can not expect everything to work out as planned. Our supervisor in India had a difficult task in guiding six students with three different assignements at the same time. There ought to be one supervisor for every task with enough time to guide each group around.

c) The idea of switching school practice must be more specific. Some one has to lay down the general outlines for what is to be expected from students on practice. I would find it satisfying and valuable to simply give a lesson i English about Sweden. And I find the lack of our participation in the Indian classes as a disappointment regarding the whole idea of switching school practice.

According to this background I have not been able to make this study as extensive as I wished. And I can hardly add any new information of value explaining drop-outs. In spite of all, the journey has been a tremendous experience and even if I have not reached the desired results with this study I think I have fulfilled some of the goals for this exchange.

2. FOCUS OF THE STUDY

In order to study drop-outs our supervisor recommended us to travel a bit through Orissa. He meant that the drop-out situation is almost the same everywhere in the state. I would therefore try to summarize the journey, and the focus of this study is consequently an attempt to point out the different drop-out situations in cities, villages and with tribes in Orissa.

All data are mainly based on discussions made with professionals and interviews with drop-outs in:

* Cuttack - City

* Doubabille - Village

* Kuliana - Santal tribes

(Appendix 1)

3. THE STATE OF ORISSA

Orissa is a state in the southeastern coastal zone. Morphologically Orissa can be devided into five different parts:

1) The coastal plains.
2) The middle mountainous country.
3) The rolling uplands.
4) The river valleys.
5) The plateau.

In spite of the access to water, fish and rich minerals such as iron ore, copper, nickel, quartz etc, Orissa is a considerably poor state. Even in April 1936 when the Englishmen granted Orissa its statehood, the new province was very poor compared to other provinces at that time.

88% of the population live in rural areas. Due to the coastal line, the state is selfsufficient in water and does hardly need any irrigation watering for its ricefields. In spite of this there is no development. The people are stuck with their old primitive agriculturing (Picture 1). Their possessions are very small and the capital investment that will be needed to make a change is far too much to risk.

One of the reasons for this backwardness can be that 40% of the rural population consist of Scheduled Tribals. There are 62 tribes in Orissa and it is in that connection the largest contributor to the Scheduled Tribes population in India. The tribes have their own set up of morals and discipline, total obediance to their headmen, worshipping their own natural gods. They are originally farmers and hunters. But the civilization is moving closer on to them now and they are being economically, educationally and socio-politically disadvantaged.

About 43% of the state's population is below the so-called poverty line. It is a considerable figure compared to the fact that there are 26.37 million people in Orissa.

"It is undoubtedly so that the problems of the Indian children mostly depends on poverty. 40% of the population live under subsistence minimum and no less than 108 million children are direct victims of the poverty-syndrome. It is an evil circle of malnutrition that leads to high rates of death among children, which forces the parents to want more children, which leads to malnutrition, illness and the slow progress growing even worse. The summary of all this makes a child's life less valuable.

This is a first stage consequence but almost avery other side of life darkens because of the same syndrome. The children pay a physical tribute that in a drastic and dramatical way destroys the health profile. It can also be compared in an intellectual way; the children get impoverished and enervated and robbed of their childhood, robbed of all possibilities to blossom with the help of an education. Instead they are forced from early childhood to perform hard work, when they ought to have the right to play, inhale knowledge, grow - freely without strings".

(P. 45 - "Liv och lek i Indien" - Rami Chhabar, Willy Petterson).

4. EDUCATION IN ORISSA

Since the education system in India differs from state to state, I am only going to present the educational system in Orissa.
The educational development in Orissa started after its independence in 1936. The colonial forces needed a school for their officials' children, and to some extent, a schoolf to educate the native population to work as lower clerks. But it was never a question of an education reaching out to the masses. Immediately after achievment of independence, the attention of the Government was switched from the elite class to the rest of the population, and the educational facilities expanded very rapidly.
(Appendix 2)

In 1988-1989 there were 39,293 primary schools in Orissa. (Primary school = classes I-V). An increase of 82% from 1947-1948 to 1988-19489.
1,184 are managed by the Department of Harijan and Tribal welfare, and the remaining 38,109 are run by the Department of Youth Services.

4.1 DROP-OUTS - A DEFINITION

In spite of these figures, Orissa, as many other undeveloped nations has a problem with drop-outs. A drop-out in this study represents a child who does not fulfill his/her schooling through primary school, classes I-V. The drop-out rate in Orissa was 48% in 1988-1989. This is still an improvement from 1978-1979 when the number was as high as 78%. One can not be satisfied, though, with these figures. 38% of the population belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. I am almost certain when I say that these people are the big losers, when talking about education.

"Every child has a right to education. Therefore shall primaryschool be compulsory and free of cost....
Every country shall take steps in order to encourage regular attendance in school, and measures to prevent that children quit prematurely".
(UN-convention about childrens rights. Article nr 28).

Except for the fact that some children lose their legal rights to an education, the total education system gets ineffective because of the drop-outs and expensive because of the resources invested on students who don't fulfil Primary schools. Drop-outs is the result of the economic changes within the nation and also depending on the world trade. Due to her debts to other countries, India, like many other countries, can't afford ventures in education to the extent she has to.

5. DROP-OUTS IN CUTTACK

Cuttack is one of the oldest cities in Orissa, and was its capital until 1948 when it was shifted to Bhubaneshwar. It is a huge city with a population of 463 000 inhabitants. Approximately 20% of the population belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.
It is quite difficult to study drop-outs in Cuttack because most schools are run strictly by the Government, or under private management. The children in these schools don't drop out. They come from privileged families and most of them want to become technichians or doctors in order to work abroad. (Picture 2, 3)
I tried to visit a so-called "slum-school" where some of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes sent their children. Every time we went there, we got the message that the school was closed and no one really seemed to know the reason why. The temporary schools are mostly run by goodhearted persons, but we could unfortunately not get in touch with them.

The main drop-out reason in Cuttack seems to be that the children's parents can not afford to let them go to school. It is not a question of school fees, because they are almost non-existent. The few costs for the family are: school uniforms (a child can wear his/her uniform throughout primary-school), school materials such as papers and pencils. But they can not afford the lack of a child's working capacity. Either to work at home, attending brothers and sisters (picture 5), or to work in the streets; collecting papers, fuel, and even making business (picture 6). These people belong to scheduled castes and tribes who have sought their way into the cities, or live there in order to get work. The pressure on the children ought to be much higher here than in the villages, because as we all know it is much more expensive to live in a city, and I would like to refer once again to the UN- convention about children's rights. Article nr 3.

"Every child has the right to be protected from economic exploitation and from work that can be damaging and collide with the child's education".

6. DROP-OUTS IN DOUBABILLE

Doubabille is a typical village in Orissa. Embedded in a forest of palm-trees and ponds it looks like Paradise to a European.

Amongst all this 150 children live and attend two schools with five teachers (Picture 7). Out of these 150 there are approximately 25 drop-outs. I spoke to three of these who gave me their personal versions of their reasons for being drop-outs. These interviews were made under forced circumstances and I got the feeling that the children felt like victims when answering the questions. (Picture 8). The statements are therefore very short because I didn't want to terrorize them more than I reasonably had to.

"Nrusingha Sahu" (Boy 12 years).
He dropped out from school in class V. His mother did not allow him to continue because his father needed his help farming. His general opinion is that school is boring and got even worse when his teacher beat him. He attended school just to be able to read and write. But after five years he still can not read or write. The reason is simply that one has to practise or have access to literature and train one's skills, especially at such an early stage of learning. I asked him about his future plans, and he aswered that he wanted to become a waiter in Calcutta, in a little café or restaurant where it would not be necessary for him to read or write.

"Pradip Sahu" (Girl 10 years)
This girl dropped out from class I. She had to take care of her younger sister who was dying, and when she had passed away, no one encouraged her to follow up her studies.

"Pradip Sahu" (Boy 12 years)
Dropped out from class II. His father tried to get a job in Calcutta, so he was needed at home.

According to these interviews the reasons are almost identical with drop-out reasons in Cuttack. But after discussions I would like to present reasons that I suppose are distinguishable in villages like Doubabille.

1) Corrupted teachers is one reason. Several headmasters have given me the same judgement about the teachers. Mostly this profession was not their goal at the beginning, and due to low salaries and frustrations they often do not appear in classes. Furthermore, the list of presence can not prove their participation because there is seldom any control from higher authorities. This also affects the education standard and leads to drop-out in higher classes. In class X there is a National exam. Many children drop out because of this test and can not continue their studies on a higher level.

2) Some parents misunderstand the intention of education. They seem to think it is enough if a child knows how to read and write, and then they can take her/him out of school without further consideration.

A social problem with drop-out children in the villages is that they often become a burden to their family after their failure. Some of the children believe that they are more worthy than the rest of the family because they have got some kind of education, and I dare say, a threat to the joint family which is based on mutual care between the family members. This affects also the whole village. Roughly speaking the village becomes divided into two parts, the educated and the non-educated inhabitants.

7. DROP-OUTS AMONG SANTAL-TRIBES

The Santal-tribe is one of the oldest tribes in Orissa. They live in different parts, but mostly in the Mayurbhanj and Balasore districts, in small communities spread all over the districts. I visited Bariphada and Kuliana in Mayrbhanj, a district with a tribal population of 95%. The remaining 5% are businessmen and officials from the larger cities like Bhubaneshwar and Cuttack.

The Santals are known as good farmers and on some occasions they still hunt with bows and arrows. They worship the nature around them and it is fascinating to hear them say prayers to the trees and the rivers in the evenings.

In Mayurbhanj there were 2 755 primary schools in 1988-1989 with an increase of 14% during a period of 10 years. In comparison the scheduled tribe enrolement increased by 15% during the same period of time. This proves that efforts are been made to supply children with schools within easy walking distance of 1 km. This problem belongs mainly to the tribal population beacuse of their way of living in small communities. The Government has tried to solve this problem by turning some schools into hostels. The children stay at the schools during their primary schooling and visit their families once a week, once a month, or even once a year. But the problem still remains for the unfortunate children, since there are no hostels for all of them.

The most overwhelming problem for the tribal children at this point is the Government's irresponsible movements of scheduled tribes. This also means that multinational companies hold undeveloped countries in a strong grip. A channel through Orissa to supply the companies in the nearby states with electricity is now under construction. With the Government's approval this channel is supposed to run through tribal areas. We went to see the channel project and it was frightful to see how it destroyed the area. Tons of

sand were swept over the forest and buried it. It is said that tribes can not move more than 30 km from their origin or else they will lose their culture. And this is precisely what is happening. The tribal population has already been forced to move several times and will continue to move on since the world is moving closer on to them and the area is valuable for people with money. The children's education suffers from this because it takes time to get aquainted with new surroundings and other systems.

8. CONCLUSIONS OF THE DIFFERENCES IN DROP-OUTS between city-, village-, and tribal drop-outs in Orissa.

There are many reasons for drop-outs and many of them are similar whether living in a city, village or belonging to a tribe.
These are the most frequent reasons:

1) The family can not afford the loss of a child's working capacity.

2) Parents take their children out of school as soon as they have learnt how to read and write.

3) The new environment in school can make a child drop out. They are simply not used to the new surroundings and demands that are forced upon them. Home and school do not meet.

4) Corrupted teachers who do not appear in classes.

5) The Government's movement of tribal people.

6) The standards of schooling are lower in the villages and tribal areas compared to the cities which is a reason for failure and drop-outs in higher classes.

7) No one pushes them to continue. Neither parents, nor teachers.

8) The group pressure from drop out classmates. A single child has not got strength enough to continue on his own.

9) The walking distance is too far. (> 1 km).

But some reasons are more distinguished depending on where the children live.

* Cuttack:

Scheduled castes and tribes who live in cities to earn money can not afford losing a child's working capacity.

* Doubabille:

1) The "Teacher drop-out" phenomenon.

2) Education is only to reach a certain goal which has been decided by the parents - once again, home and school do not meet.

* Santal tribes:

1) The Government's movements of the tribes, making attendance at school almost impossible.

2) The distance to school is too far (>1 km).

9. HOW TO CHANGE AND WHAT TO CHANGE

One of the most important questions to be taken into consideration is the purpose and contents of education. What are the state's purposes of education? The schools in Orissa are based upon English methods and very theoretic. The pupils are incredibly competitive and in the headmasters's offices there are big charts of the children's results. The whole school system seems to be a big competition in order to confirm the very best. This is the picture I got when visiting schools in Orissa. A school system that verifies the winners and the hopeless losers.

The primary school must be designed to give children the knowledge and skills they need to live where they are, either as farmers, craftsmen or officials. An education without any goals is meaningless and even damaging. As long as political goals are just a show to the rest of the world, the children from socially and economically poor families will not be represented in classes.

One solution is the Non-formal Education Programme. An "Earn-while you learn" type of school, established on April the 5th in 1977 by the Union Master of Education. This proves that the authorities are aware of the problem, and that strengthened efforts are being made to solve it. The guidelines are given, but the implementation of the Non-Formal Education programme is the responsibility of the states. This kind of education would increase the motivation among both children and parents. Examples of activities are: Weaving, tailoring, carpentry, maisonry, dairy etc.

This programme was made especially for children living in:

-scheduled tribes.

-scheduled castes.

-industrial and slum areas

in nine "Educationally Backward States": Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Jammu and Kasmis, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajastahn, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.

The real purpose is to give all children up to 14 years of age an education, and the importance of this new education programme is established when figures show that about 8 million children will be engaged. During my stay in Orissa I did not get in contact with any of the 3 279 centres that are supposed to be established. But this is hopefully a step in the right direction.

10. SUMMARY

Drop-outs are a serious problem in many developing countries. The authorities in these countries are fighting against the old, established, theoretic schoolsystem forced upon them by colonial principles. Still the lack of education is vastly spread all over, because this is a fight against ignorance, poverty and economic/political interests.

I visited Orissa in order to find out some of the drop-out reasons, and I came in touch with drop-out children in cities, villages and tribal areas. In this study I have tried to explain specific connections between a child's environment and the cause for becoming a drop-out. I believe that it is of great importance in order to reform the system successfully that both the Government and the teachers are aware of this basic problem.

While working on this study I travelled from the south to the north of Orissa, and I experienced a beautiful state. Even though it is sad to see the "post-colonial hangover", as Dr Das so well put it, and the fact that tribal people are almost facing their ruin, Orissa is a very rich country in the midst of all poverty. It is full of natural assets which are important conditions of development, and rich in deeply engaged people who take interest in educational questions. I find it fascinating that students volunteer to teach. (This is a link in a big project founded by Prof Rath, Cuttack - another educational effort concentrating on adults).

The drop-out problems in Cuttack appear to be limited to scheduled castes and tribes, who have sought their way to the city in order to work. And the reason for the drop-out is simply that the child also has to work for the family's benefit.

In a village like Doubabille there is a "Teacher-drop-out" phenomenon. Due to low salaries, frustrations and corruption the teachers do not show up in classes, and there is seldom any control from higher authorities to check ther participation.
Furthermore, there is a lack of communication between home and school. The parents have their own opinion about education, and about what to be achieved at school. They are for example satisfied if their child can read and write fairly well after two years in school, and then the education is terminated. The problem is that without practice for some years more, the child's ability to read and write will soon be lost.

The Santal tribes drop-out problems are beyond their own control. Because of the Government's interest in their land, they are forced to move from their home districts, which makes it almost impossible for the children to attend school.
Another reason for drop-out is that the schools are too far away, more than an easy-walking distance of 1 km. The Governmental solution to turn schools into hostels is good, but there are still not enough hostels to provide the remaining 12 000 children with an education.

It's obvious that the Government is working on the drop-out problem. If the goals are established and if the problems are specified, there will be progress even if it is slow.

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Appendix 1

Kuliana
Doubabille
Cuttack
SUNDARGARH
SAMBALPUR
KENDUJHAR
MAYURBHANJ
BALANGIR
ORISSA
CUTTACK
PHULBANI
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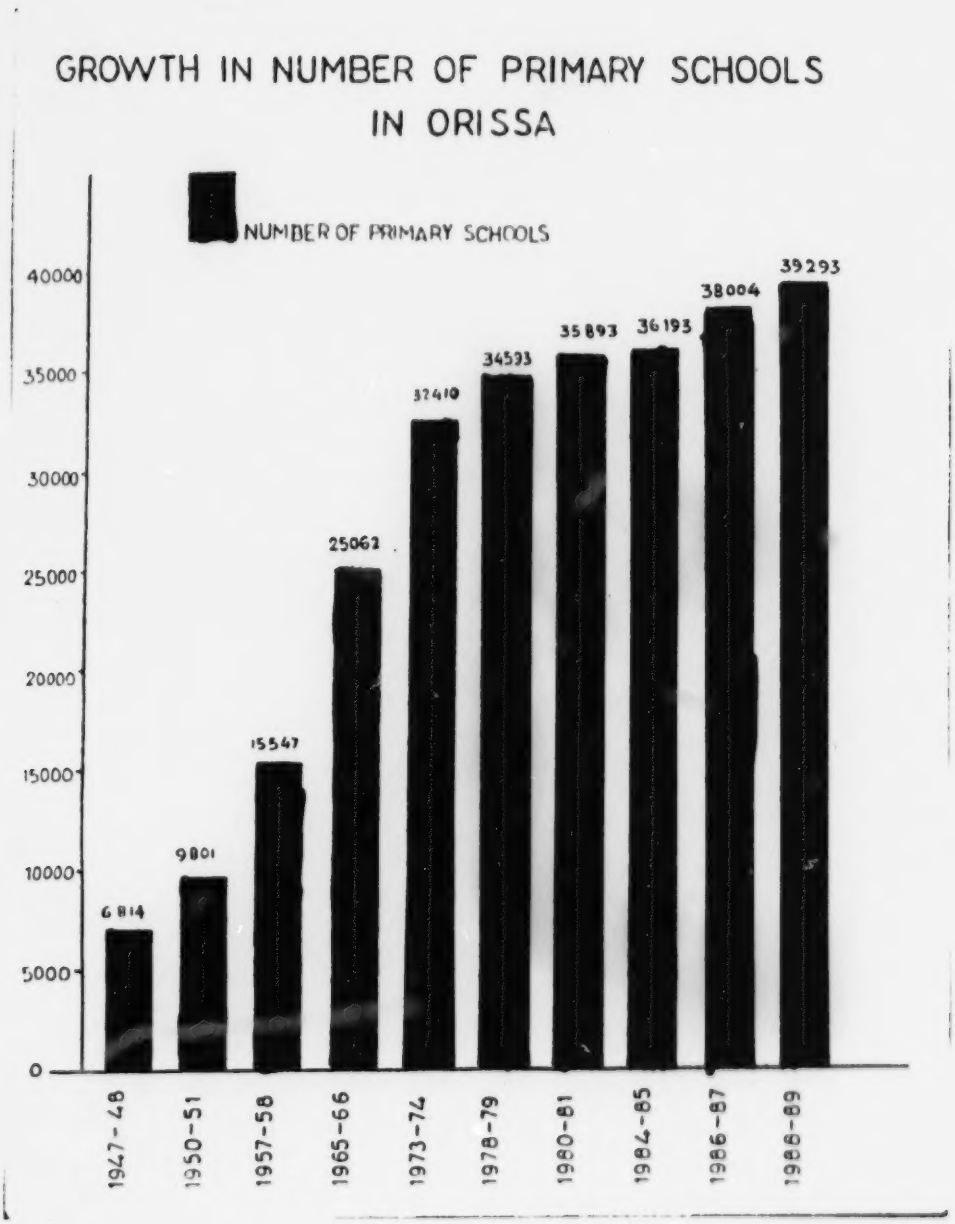
Brahmapur
Nabarangapur
Kotapārh

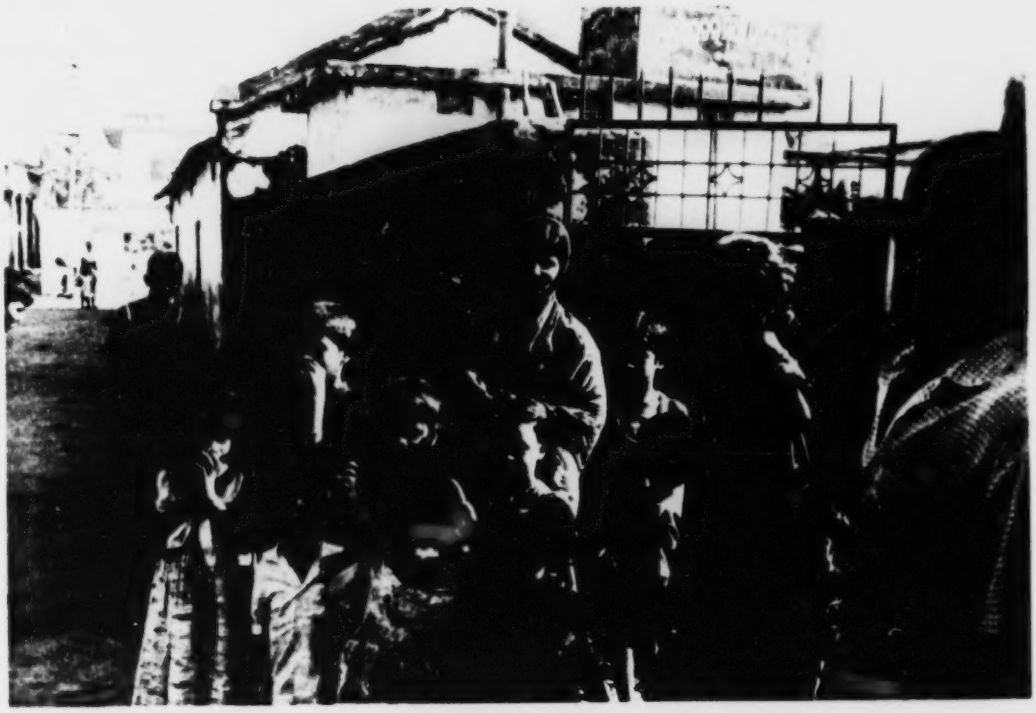

GROWTH IN NUMBER OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS
IN ORISSA
NUMBER OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS
40000
35000
30000
25000
20000
15000
10000
5000
0
6814
9801
15547
25062
32410
34533
35893
36193
38004
39293
1947-48
1950-51
1957-58
1965-66
1973-74
1978-79
1980-81
1984-85
1986-87
1988-89

Picture 1
"Primitive
agriculturing."
Boudabille

Picture 2
"Children in
a private pre-
school."
Bhadrak

Picture 3. "Gymnastics in a private school", Cuttack.

Picture 4. "Children belonging to scheduled castes and -tribes outside a closed slumschool in Cuttack".



Picture 5. "Children looking after children", Cuttack.

Picture 6. "Two boys in a brass-store in Puri, it was 9 o'clock in the evening."

Picture 7
"Boudabille
inhabitants"

Picture 8
To the left in
this picture:
"Shumi Sahu,
10."
Boudabille

Education in India

A Study of Drop-out Children in Orissa

Anna Hedström

The School of Education in Malmö

Education in India

A Study of Drop-out Children in Orissa

Anna Hedström

Lund University, School of Education in Malmö,
Junior and secondary school teacher programme, 1991

Preface and acknowledgement

The third term at Grundskollärarlinjen, Malmö, includes a practice period of four weeks. I had the opportunity to exchange that period for a special practice in Orissa, India. It began in May 1990 - those who were interested in making this change could fill their names in a form - and I did.
Then in August, after the summer vacation, I got a message by phone that I could join the group to India if I wanted to - and of course I did.

Lars H. and Gudrun Ekstrand, who arranged this practice programme, devoted a lot of their spare time to prepare us for some quite different weeks and to give us all the useful information they could think of. I give my thanks to them.

To exchange my practice period for a special practice in India was also possible thanks to SIDA (Swedish International Development Authority). I was admitted to the study programme Minor Field Studies (MFS), a programme that provides financial support for students who are interested in issues concerning Third World countries and their development processes. Therefore I give my thanks to SIDA for giving me financial support to carry out the fieldwork for this study.

In India several persons assisted us throughout our research. I would like to give some special thanks to Dr. Rath, who was our supervisor in Cuttack, and to his daughter Gitu and her husband, who were a great help for us in Bhadrak, and to Sasmita Treipathy and her friend Sudipta, both students at the departement of psychology at Utkal University, Bhubaneswar. Sasmita did her very best to take us to places that could be of interest for our study, and we were more than pleased.
I also would like to thank Dr. A. Srikanta Dash, who lent me two interesting books about education in Orissa and about drop-out children.

In Baripada we got some great help from the men who belong to the management in the organisation SODA (Society for Developmental Action). Thanks to Shanti Behera, the head of the organisation, who made the arrangements for our visits to the tribal schools and villages, to Bishu and Basanta, who willingly drove us around for three days, and also to Vim who joined us and made an interesting videofilm of our visits.

April 1991
Anna Hedström

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1 Introduction

The purpose of this practice programme is in the long run that some students should be able to fulfil longer practice periods and maybe also other parts of their education in India, on the pattern of the school of education in Mölndal. The programme is a part of an internationalization project called "Barn i Indien" (Children in India).
It has several times been emphasized by our Government authorities that the Swedish school and university, and especially the school of education, need to be internationalized. We need a communication between the countries that replaces the view that it is only the Third World that has something to learn from the industrialized countries, and not the other way round. It is obvious that we have much to learn from the developing countries.

SIDA made it a condition that we should do this study to get their financial support. We could choose the subject ourselves, but our supervisor in Sweden told us that SIDA was intrested in having a study about drop-out children. I found that interesting and chose it to be my subject. Unfortunately, I think the conditions in India were not enough to do this research. We visited a lot of schools, both in cities and small villages, but some of the persons who helped us did not seem to realize that we also had to go to areas where we could have some interviews with drop-out children. That, I think, would have been specially interesting - to have a lot of interviews with children - to get to know each child´s reason for not going to school. I have got five interviews of that kind. The rest of the information I received while interviewing the headmaster and/or a/the teacher at the school.

My purpose of the study was to find out the reason why the children drop out from school or never even start school, and also differences according to sex. I thought of speaking to a lot of families that had drop-out children, and map them - according to family members, for how long the child/children attended school and above all what kind of factors affected the situation. I also concentrated on the expenses for the families for having a child in school, not only according to fees, but also to uniforms and books. Something quite conclusive is what the parents expect of the child/children in the future.

The first part of this report deals with some general information about India and about the state in which our study took place, Orissa. I thought

that would be a significant basis of the prospect of the second part, which includes my studies - visits to different schools and villages - and also the conclusions about drop-out childen.

2 India

2.1 The people and the nation

Today India comprises 22 states and 9 union territories. The union territories are ruled directly from the capital city of New Delhi, while the feder-al states have their own parliaments and governments. The legislative authority and the economic planning is divided between the Central Government and the federal states. The latter deal with the health service, schools, police and agriculture, while the Union Governments are responsible for foreign politics, defence, developing design, communications, currency etc.

The population density is on average 221 inhabitants/sq km. The corresponding number in Sweden is 19, and in the Netherlands it is 351.
India has an area of about 3.2 million sq kms, i.e. India is more than seven times as large as Sweden. The country takes up 2.4 per cent of the earth´s area - but the Indians constitute about 15 per cent of the world's total population.
India has got about 800 million inhabitants. The children constitute practically half of the population though many children die before the age of five. The average length of life is 55 years.

2.2 Religions and languages

India is predominantly Hindu. They constitute 83 per cent of the population and the Muslims make up 11 per cent. Christians account for 2.6 per cent and Sikhs for almost 2 per cent.
Language may be seen as the major sub-division of culture in India. It is a country where several hundred languages and dialects are spoken. The census of 1961 enumerated 1,652 'mother-tongues', of which 82 were each spoken by more than 100,000 people in 1971. The 23 principal languages cover 96 per cent of the population; the largest part of the population (30 per cent) speak Hindi.

2.3 The caste system

The Hindu caste system implies that you are born into a caste depending on your deeds in earlier lives, according to the belief about carma and reincarnation. Every individual belongs to the same caste as his family. Just as little as he can change parents, as little can he change the caste he was born into. There are about 3000 different castes in India today.

The traditional caste system does not only imply a social order of precedence of the families, it also means a division of labour system. The caste gives directions about both profession and working tasks.
The lower castes sometimes get a remuneration in kind in connection with crop and wedding and at the annual religious feasts.
Those who are standing outside the caste system are called "scheduled castes" (S.C.), which refers to the Government's list of groups that need special support.
It is very rare that people with different castes marry each other. It can lead to an exclusion from the family and the caste solidarity, and that is the worst social misfortune that could happen to a Hindu - without the caste they are rootless and unprotected in life.
Today it is by law forbidden to discriminate a person because of what caste he belongs to. But there is a kind of positive discrimination. To help members of the lower castes to overcome their social and economic handicap, an allocation is awarded them and gives them a fixed number of places at educational institutions as well as in most public positions.

2.4 The sacred cow

About 20 per cent of the cattle in the world are found in India. The Indian cow is sacred and it is forbidden either to kill or to eat it. The cow´s milk is an important source of protein and fat, and the dung is valuable as manure. Dried dung is also used as house fuel and constitutes the most important energy source in India.

2.5 Education

As regards education all the schools are subjected to their federal state governing, which means that educational politics and curriculum vary between the different states.
The higher education has ever since independence grown faster than the primary school education. One result is that at least 6 -7 per cent of those with higher education are now unemployed.
The number of universities in India is 105 (1982) - in 1951 it was 27.
The literacy rate in India is 36.22 per cent (1981). The rates vary from rural to urban areas, where illiteracy may be almost total or almost absent. Less than 20 per cent of the nation's scheduled castes, and slightly more than 10 per cent of scheduled tribes are literate. The rates of illiteracy for females have fallen since 1951, but in 1981 they were still 70.4 per cent compared to 44.4 per cent for males in the same year.
In the universities and the highschools one in three pupils is a girl.
Studies prepared for the national literacy campaign revealed that 63.5 per cent of the students initially enrolled in the lower primary school drop out before they reach class 5. Most of those who drop out are girls or children from a low caste and/or tribal families. Another 7 per cent drop out before they reach class 8; thus 70.5 per cent of Indian children drop out before they complete the first stage of formal schooling. The dropout rate from the primary schools in many villages is 90 to 95 per cent. Nearly two-thirds of India's primary school population do not receive four years of schooling, which is the minimum necessary to guarantee fundamental literacy and numeracy.

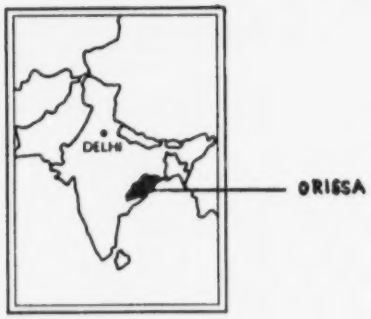
The school and college year usually begins in June or July (following the monsoon rains in some regions) and ends nine months later, in March or April. The year is divided into three terms of about 15 weeks each, six days a week. The number of weeks in school varies widely, but a standard of 39 weeks is being adopted in many regions.
The primary objectives of the first stage are literacy, numeracy, technical skills, civic knowledge, positive attitudes towards human labour, health and hygiene, aesthetics, and responsibility to self and others. Similar objectives for higher primary education (6-8) are also in force, and emphasis is placed on civic culture, second-language learning, and introduction to physical and life sciences. The second language (Hindi, English or a regional language) is introduced in class 6 along with subject-oriented teaching in natural and social science and more specific work experience. Time allotments to the different classes are flexible and allow schools to develop projects and group activities. External exams are

given at the end of class 10 and 12.

In 1980 there were nearly 4 million teachers (about 25 per cent female) in Indian primary and secondary schools. Most teachers at the primary level have completed eight years of elementary schooling and received an additional two years preparation at the lower secondary stage. Most trained teachers are educated in institutions with no affiliation to Indian universities. There are substantial differences in the salaries teachers receive from state to state and within states. Salaries for teachers in affiliated colleges are generally lower than those for university teachers. To compensate for low and inadequate salaries many teachers, particularly in urban areas, give private tuition, and that remuneration often exceeds their regular teaching salaries. In the 1980s private initiatives have been taken to establish teachers working with underprivileged students in rural and urban areas. Residential facilities are often provided for teachers in rural areas as part of their remuneration.

3 Orissa State

3.1 Land and people



Orissa is situated in the East part of India and covers an area of 155,707 square kilometres (1981). As a comparison, the area of Orissa is slightly smaller than England and Wales put together, and its population is more or less equal to that of Canada and Yugoslavia.

The population in Orissa is about 30 million (1990), which means 3.8 per cent of the total population of India. Consequently Orissa occupies the 11th position among the states according to population size.

According to the statistics Assam, Bihar and Orissa are the poorest states in India with a large part of their population living below the so-called poverty line. In Orissa the percentage of people living below that amount of income is about 70 per cent (1989).

Only 12 per cent of the population in Orissa live in urban areas compared to the national average, which is 24 per cent. The remainder of the population live in rural areas. Orissa has more than 51,000 (1989) inhabited villages.

Figure 1: The districts which I visited including the places in which I did the research.

1. Mayurbhanj district (Tribal villages outside Baripada)
2. Balasore district (Dobabil, Dasarath Pur, Bhadrak)
3. Cuttack district (Cuttack and Bhubaneswar)

Since the scheduled tribes usually live in small villages and most of the scheduled castes live in urban areas I found it interesting to publish the following table. As you can probably figure out there are no large towns in Mayurbhanj, but a lot of tribal villages. In Cuttack district there are three large towns (Cuttack, Bhubaneswar and Puri).

Table 1 : Percentage of Scheduled Castes (S.C.) and Scheduled Tribals (S.T.) in those districts, which I visited.

	% of S.C. of the total population	% of S.T of the total population
(Orissa	14.66	22.43)
Cuttack	15.64	3.13
Balasore	17.94	6.84
Mayurbhanj	6.58	57.67

Source : Handbook of Orissa

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Out of 108 towns of Orissa 6 towns have a population of more than 100,000. Cuttack has a population of 327,412 (1981), and Bhubaneshwar has 219,211 (1981).
Cuttack district, which is the most populous district in the state, has a density of population of 414 persons/sq km, compared to the average in Orissa, which is 169 persons/sq km (1981).

Bhubaneshwar is the capital of Orissa and there you can find modern buildings side by side with the old temple city, where you can find hundreds of temples, big and miniature, besides numerous other monuments. This has been a place of pilgrimage for one thousand years.
Cuttack (35 kms from Bhubaneswar) is one of the oldest towns of Orissa (in 1990 - at the time of our visit - it was 1000 years old) and continued to be the capital of Orissa since the rule of the Ganya dynasty in the 12th Century till 1948 when the capital of the new province was shifted to Bhubaneswar.

The principal language in Orissa is oriya, which is spoken by 4 per cent (1972) of the national population.

3.2 Educational system

When Indian children are 2.5-3 years old they begin preschool. The main difference between Sweden and India is that we put the stress on games and plays, while the Indian child sits at his desk a large part of the day.
A child enrols standard 1 at the age of 5 - lower primary school (classes 1-4), then they go on to higher primary school (classes 5-7) and finish highschool (classes 8-10) with Board Exam, commonly done in various centres with the same uniform questions. The test contains 8 different subjects, and you can have 100 points in each subject. Every year about 250,000 pupils appear at this examination in Orissa. Those 100 pupils with the highest points get scholarships. About 35 per cent usually fail in the test, but they can appear next year if they want to. Those who did not fail get a Highschool Certificate and can begin at college at a Pre-University Course (P.U.C.), which lasts for 2 years. Before beginning they have to make a choice between Science, Commerce and Arts.
After college they can enrol at the university, and study for 2 or 5 years. If they study for 5 years they get a Master´s Degree, and if the grades are good enough, they can take a course and get a Master of Philosophy. Otherwise, they have got the chance to take another course and become Doctor of Philosophy. It is possible to graduate from both.

About 1 per cent of those who go to school in India go to private schools - the others to Government schools. As a rule the Government schools are free but the family may have to pay for books and school uniforms.
For having a child in a Private school the family has to pay about 60-100 rupees/month (100 rupees = 33 Skr; 1990). In ordinary Government schools in Orissa, the first language is Oriya. The second language is English. It is compulsory from class 4. From class 6 they learn Hindi - the national language, and in classes 8,9 and 10 they learn Sanskrit - the classical language. Otherwise they study all other common subjects, except religion. That education every child's family has to take care of, because in India as well as in many other countries they only learn their own religion - they do not read about others.

3.3 Education

The opening scene of educational development in Orissa after independence (1947) presented a very poor picture. The entire state of Orissa had
6,814 Primary Schools and 106 Secondary Schools. The number of colleges was only 12 and there was only one University to cater for the

needs of University education of the State. That was the Utkal University (in Bhubaneswar), which was established in 1943. Two other universities were established in Sambalpur and Berhampur in 1965. At the end of 1988 there were 5 universities including the Sanskrit University at Puri. Immediately after the achievement of independence the educational facilities expanded very rapidly in India. The rise in numbers of institutions in Orissa in 1947-1989 may be seen from the following table:

Table 2:

	1947-48	1950-51	1960-61	1969-70	1978-79	1988-89
Primary Schools (classes 1-5)	6 814	9 801	21 858	26 554	34 593	39 293
Secondary Schools (classes 6-10)	106	172	452	1 543	2 167	4 239
Colleges	12	14	29	77	106	433

Source : Education in Orissa 1988-89

In 1961 the percentage of literacy of Orissa was 21.7 which rose to 26.12 in 1971 and 34.12 in 1981. Largely that was due to the Adult Education Sector which, over all those years, was taking steps for improving the literacy position of the State. Although the figures 34.12 do not show the big difference in literacy between male and female - 46.9 per cent of the males and 21.1 per cent of the females were literate in 1981.

Table 3 : Percentage of literates (1981) of the total population of Orissa in those districts, which I visited.

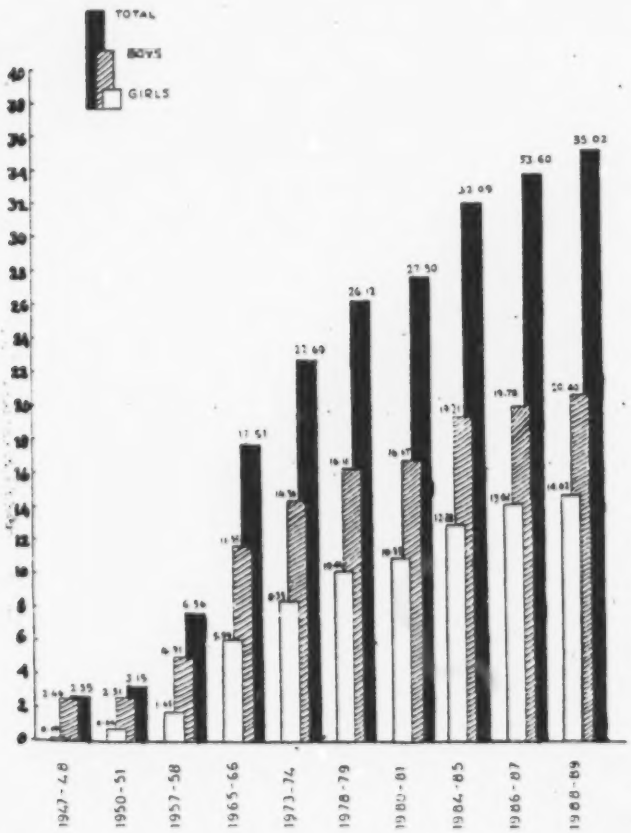
	% of literates in each district
(Orissa	34.12)
Cuttack	45.33
Balasore	41.84
Mayurbhanj	25.47

Source : Handbook of Orissa

In 1988/89 the teacher pupil ratio was 1:39 in classes 1-5, 1:26 in classes 6-8 and 1:20 in classes 9-10.

The following figure and tables give an interesting view of education for the Primary stages in Orissa and in those districts, which I visited.

Figure 2: Growth of enrolment at the Primary stage (classes 1-5) in Orissa - (in 100,000).



Source: Education in Orissa 1988-89

Table 5 : Districtwise growth of enrolment at the Primary stage of education.

Year	Cuttack Boys / Girls	Balasore Boys / Girls	Mayurbhanj Boys / Girls
78/79	288 / 213	157 / 105	94 / 53
79/80	291 / 221	158 / 120	94 / 54
80/81	298 / 225	165 / 122	95 / 54
81/82	310 / 227	167 / 124	96 / 55
82/83	336 / 239	184 / 126	99 / 62
83/84	346 / 243	185 / 127	100 / 62
84/85	368 / 267	195 / 136	103 / 69
85/86	371 / 269	198 / 138	105 / 71
86/87	371 / 273	202 / 145	104 / 72
87/88	374 / 275	203 / 145	106 / 73
88/89	378 / 282	210 / 148	110 / 89

Source : Education in Orissa 1988-89

In the cities about 80 per cent of the children enrol standard 1. In class 2 about 20 per cent of these have dropped out, and in the fifth class it is about 40 per cent. About 30 per cent of the children who begin school finish class 10.

In the villages it is quite different. 25 per cent of the children drop out after class 1, and after class 5 it is about 55 per cent, about 85 per cent after class 7 and almost 95 per cent before the enrolment in the university.

Table 6 : Growth of enrolment of S. C. and S. T. students at Primary stage (classes 1-5) in Orissa - (in 1,000).

Year	Scheduled Caste			% to total enrolment	Scheduled Tribe			% to total enrolment
	Boys	Girls	Total		Boys	Girls	Total	
80/81	261	138	399	14.5	370	165	535	19.4
84/85	309	184	493	15.3	378	209	587	18.2
85/86	334	204	538	16.5	379	222	601	18.4
86/87	341	204	545	16.2	380	223	603	17.9
87/88	343	216	559	16.4	381	224	605	17.8
88/89	348	223	571	16.3	389	225	614	17.5

The total number of teachers in 1988-89 was 90,540 and the teacher-pupil ratio was 1:39 in classes 1-5, 1:26 in classes 6-8 and 1:20 in classes 9-10.

Table 7 : Number of districtwise teachers in Primary Schools.

Year	Cuttack M/F	Balasore M/F	Mayurbhanj M/F
78/79	11424 / 1341	5511 / 401	4612 / 568
79/80	11641 / 1397	5679 / 418	4753 / 591
80/81	11900 / 1476	5831 / 442	4915 / 625
81/82	11920 / 1514	5867 / 453	4936 / 641
82/83	11920 / 1514	5867 / 453	4936 / 641
83/84	11920 / 1679	5867 / 533	4936 / 653
84/85	11920 / 1797	5867 / 624	4936 / 732
85/86	11920 / 2010	5867 / 712	4936 / 843
86/87	10811 / 3248	5739 / 1002	5115 / 845
87/88	10678 / 3965	5627 / 1670	5034 / 1353
88/89	10004 / 4691	5415 / 1904	4385 / 1818

M = male, F = female
Source : Education in Orissa 1988-89

Table 8 : Districtwise S. T. teachers in Primary Schools.

Year	Cuttack	Balasore	Mayurbhanj
78/79	78	77	952
79/80	78	77	972
80/81	76	77	978
81/82	76	71	956
82/83	74	89	956
83/84	77	99	976
84/85	99	179	986
85/86	99	191	997
86/87	107	222	1072
87/88	165	265	1142
88/89	165	265	1203

Source : Education in Orissa 1988-89

Table 9: Districtwise S. T. enrolment in Primary Schools.

Year	Cuttack	Balasore	Mayurbhanj
78/79	9	13	72
79/80	9	14	72
80/81	9	14	82
81/82	9	14	82
82/83	9	15	83
83/84	10	15	84
84/85	11	18	85
85/86	11	22	86
86/87	11	22	86
87/88	11	22	86
88/89	11	22	87

Source : Education in Orissa 1988-89

The differences in material standards between the schools are quite large. In many places there are neither chairs nor desks - maybe the teacher has a table. In that case the children sit on the floor and may use their little school bag as a support of the slate or the book. In other schools there can be benches and desks of different heights adjusted to the children´s size, but everywhere it is crowded - the classes are large and the children have to sit close together. If the classroom contains chairs (not benches) there could be as much as three or four children on some chairs.

A fast increasing number of children in addition to shortage of teachers, textbooks and teaching aids are among the fundamental problems of the educational system.

The urban schools had to a certain degree some educational material on the walls, for example some illustrations of anîmals and plants, maps - some of them painted by hand, and something quite frequent was the pictures of well-known political, religious or educational leaders hanging high up on the wall.

All the visits to different schools really affected me deeply. I could not fail to recognize all the enthusiasm and the pride that the teachers had in their work. I noticed that education and knowledge was something worth aiming for and far from self-evident. You really get the feeling that knowledge means power.

4 Schoolvisits and interviews

4.1 S. B. Highschool, Cuttack

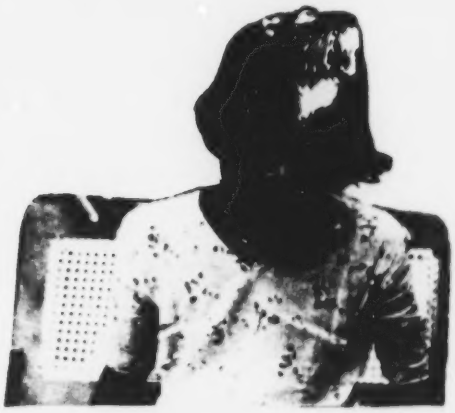
This was quite a large Government school, though you could only find grades 6 -10. There were a lot of classrooms distributed on four floors. The school seemed to manage quite well in view of the accessories and materials it was furnished with. Especially musical instruments and gymnastic apparatus.
At this school there is hardly any drop-out rate at all. They have got the best Board Exam results in the district.
Most of the teaching consists of conversations and they do not use many books. All the lessons at the school are carried out in Oriya, except the English lessons which are entirely carried out in English. Something we could affirm, because we attended an English lesson in grade 10, and the teacher spoke English all the time. Their English-books were also completely in English, i. e. there were no explanations in their own language (Oriya). The pupils in the class were composed of 33 boys and 12 girls, and they were sitting separately. When a pupil is going to answer a question he stands up and he does not sit down until the teacher gives him a sign.

4.2 Interviews, Dobabil

Those children in the village who go to upper primary school have lessons between 10 am and 4 pm, Mondays to Saturdays. On Sundays they are free.
We got the possibility of interviewing 5 children in the village (four of them are drop-outs) :

Nrusingha Sahu, boy, 12,(lower caste)
Nrusingha has got three elder brothers and one elder sister. All of them, including himself, dropped out from school when they were 10 years old. The boy went to school for five years so that he would be able to read and write. More than that was not necessary, his mother thought. Instead he was supposed to help his father, who is a farmer. The boy was quite interested in reading then, but now he has forgotten what he learned in school, just because he has not got any practice the last two years. "When I become a grown-up I will go to Calcutta and take a job as a waiter in a little restaurant", he says.

Skumeri Sahu, girl,10



Skumeri has got three brothers. The oldest brother failed in the exam and quit school. The second brother is 16 years old and works in the fields. The third brother is 8 years old and will go to school. Skumeri dropped out 1.5 years ago after one year in school. She had to take care of her sister for a few days, because she was ill. Unfortunately her sister did not survive, and after those days Skumeri did not feel like going to school anymore.
It was a pity that neither the parents nor the teachers encourouged her to continue her education, so she ended up staying at home to help her parents.

Laxmi Sahu, girl,11 (Laxmi is the God of Wealth)
Laxmi does not go to school and she never has. It is because she has got three younger brothers and two younger sisters to take care of. She has no interest in going to school either. She wants to be a housewife. Her father is a labourer and her grandmother also lives with the family.

Mina-Rani Sahu, girl, 14

Mina-Rani has got two brothers and two sisters. One of the brothers works in Calcutta and the other brother works at the Rourkela Steel Plants.
She is in the 9th class and has to go to another village to attend school. It takes about 20 minutes to walk there. She is average in school and the teachers like her. She says that there are so many sick people in the village and there is no doctor nearby, so she will study to become one, and then come back to the village and practise there. If her grades are not enough she would like to be a teacher. One of the sisters failed in class 10 and the other sister failed and dropped out in class 7, but Mina-Rani has enough confidence that she will pass. Her parents own a piece of land, but they are not upper class.

Pradip Sahu, boy, 12

Pradip has got two sisters and two brothers. One elder sister is not studying. She is working in the household. One younger brother has recently begun first class, and the other two are so small that they have not begun school yet. His father is educated but Pradip does not know up to which class.

Those children who go to school cannot get any help at home. And if they come to school not having done their homework they may be punished. The more a child gets punished in school the more he dislikes it and loses his interest in it, and some day he may drop out because of that. The school staff in the village do not care if a child drops out from school. Most of the teachers are in school only because it is their duty and because they want to get their salaries.

4.3 Dasarath Pur Highschool

We were visiting the high school part but actually you could find all classes from 1 to 10 at the school. There are 800 pupils and 25 teachers at the school, i.e. 32 children/teacher. Every year 15 per cent of the children drop out from school, because the families are poor and they need the children at home. The school staff do not care about it. So they do not do anything to keep the children in school. It is more common that girls drop out from school, because they need to help their mothers, and the parents think that it is more important that the boys get an education. It is also very unusual that the parents are educated, which means that they do not quite see the importance of it.

For a few minutes we attended a lesson in geography, which was given entirely in Oriya. The class consisted of 30 boys and 11 girls.

4.4 D. P. English Medium School, Bhadrak

This school was a private one run by the Christian society. It was founded seven years ago by the Christians. There are 200 pupils and 14 teachers (of which 3 are male) at the school, i.e. 14-15 pupils/teacher.

For each pupil it costs 15 rs/month (100 rs = 33 Skr) if it is a "factory-child", which is the most common. Otherwise it costs 30 rs/month. The families themselves have to pay for the books and the uniforms for the children, but most of the families are quite well-to-do, and they want their children to go to school, so that is no problem at all. The teachers work about 5.5 hours a day (they are free on Saturdays and Sundays) and their salary is 700 -1000 rs/month.

Of course there are hardly any drop-outs at all, but if a child does not do well, the teacher keeps informing the parents. Those children who do very well have an opportunity to get a scholarship.

The difference between this school and other private schools is that their first language is English, instead of Oriya. Their second language is Hindi and after that comes their mother tongue - Oriya.

We were lucky to have the oppurtunity to see some typical Orissa folk-dances that a few girls were practising. The music was played by the dancing-teacher (tabla) and another teacher (harmonium). The small bells at the dancing girls´ ankles gave a nice zest to the music.

4.5 Slum area outside Bhubaneswar

The last day of our visit to Orissa we went to a slum area about 10 kms outside Bhubaneswar. We were invited to Laxmi, the woman who looks after the children in the village, and we had to crouch down while stepping inside her little clay cottage. The room could be about 8 sq ms, and was only lit up by the light from the doorway. On the earthen floor along the walls small children and a few adults were sitting, all of them quiet and curious.

Laxmi told us that every morning she walks around the village and fetches those children who are not going to school, which is about 40. She cannot read but she teaches them to dance. Later when the children begin school the teacher will be responsible for their education and their upbringing.

There are some small schoolbuildings in the area, so that the children can attend school up to class 5, but most of the children do not go to school. Since the parents are working in the town they cannot check up on their children if they are going to school or not. Those very few parents who are literate try to make their children attend school, which goes on between 11 am and 4 pm. After the fifth grade the children are forced to walk into town if they want to continue their education, which means that almost everyone that has finished class 5 drop out. They think it is ridiculous to walk that far "just" to get an education.

5 Visits to tribal villages and schools

5.1 Tribals

In Orissa there are 62 tribal communities. The tribal population comprises about 23 per cent of the total population of Orissa.
Orissa has got the largest varieties of the tribes of India, some of the oldest tribes and some of the most primitive tribes of the country. Some of them live in complete isolation in hilly areas without being in touch with modern life.
Tribal life is simple and happy, enriched by natural pleasure even in the midst of disease, poverty and backwardness. They have plenty of romance and pleasure and are full of songs and music. They have their own set morals and discipline, implicit obedience to their head men. Their fairs and festivals are mostly agriculture based. These are performed during the different stages of cultivation.
The education and economic development of the tribal peoples has been undertaken more energetically during the last years than ever before, though most teachers in the tribal villages have a salary of not more than 400 rs/month.

During three days we travelled around outside Baripada and visited some tribal villages and their schools and pre-schools. We got this opportunity through SODA (Society for Developmental Action) and its head Shanti Behera. The organisation is working on education, professional training, health programmes and information about people´s legal rights. SODA was the financial support for all the schools that we visited in the area.

5.2 Government Tribal School

At this school they had classes 1-5. When we arrived they were sitting in two long rows on the veranda doing their "homework". There were 137 pupils and 3 teachers at the school, i.e. 45-46 pupils/teacher. The children live at the school and it is about 12-15 kms from their families, which means that they seldom meet each other. The school is free and the pupils have no uniforms, but they have to buy a few books. None of those children who attend school drop out, but not more than 20 per cent of the tribal children go to school in this area. The others have to help their parents in the fields, take care of the younger children in the family, do some housework, collect cow-dung and sprigs for fuel, look after the domestic animals etc. Their parents are all illiterate, and they cannot see the value of getting an education.

5.3 Smruti Kanya Vidya Nketan, Kuliana

At this school they only have classes 8-10. There are 8 teachers and 150 pupils, and all of the pupils are girls. The teachers and 20 of the girls live at the school. The other pupils have to walk up to 6 kms. Monday to Friday they have lessons between 9.30 am and 4 pm and on Saturdays

between 7 am and 11 am. On Sundays they are "free", and then they usually work in the garden.

5.4 Santal

To get to this village we first had to cross a river with a big canoe, and then we had to walk about 4 kms. In the village I talked to Sri Ghana Mahali, an eighteen-year-old boy. He told me that he went to a private school before but he had to drop out in class 9 because he had a fever. After that it was too difficult for him to start again. Dejected he explained that if he had not been ill he would have done all the ten years, got through the Board Exam and then studied to be a policeman. He had always dreamt of being a policeman. Now he sometimes helps his parents, who are illiterate, in the fields, and sometimes he works in a little town outside Delhi. Usually he takes his salary in rice instead of money, then he gives a lot of it to his parents.

We were invited home to a little boy and his family. His name was Budhuram Hembram and he was 8 years old. We spoke to his grandmother and she told us that the boy was in grade 4, and he has to walk about 15 kms to get to the school. When he has taken his exam he is going to work in a larger town. Actually the family needs him to work at home, but they think that it is more important that he gets his education, so they rather work extra hard for his sake. The boy´s mother is illiterate - in her younger days they were nomads and there was absolutely no need for an education. When Budhuram is at home his grandmother looks after him, while his mother works in the fields.

5.5 Gendapokhori preschool/lower primary school

This school was very small and made of clay. Inside the little house 33 children (19 boys and 14 girls) were sitting on the earth floor, each with a little slate and a book. They were between 3 and 10 years of age. Some of the small children were at the school because a few older children had brought them, instead of staying at home to look after them. And that involves that the small ones also had to sit down and learn. The smallest one had just learnt to write the letters A, B and C - in Oriya, of course. The children had one teacher, a 21-year-old boy, and he told us that the school had started three years earlier thanks to SODA.

5.6 Thilidam preschool/lower primary school

For the present this school has 40 pupils. They have lessons Monday to Saturday from 9 am to 1 pm and 6 pm to 9 pm. They are not learning any English at the school, just Oriya. When they get older they will have to go to another school, which is about 1 km from the village.
All the children in the village attend class 1, but usually not more than 1 per cent of them finish class 10. The parents want their children to go to school, but if a child does not do well enough he usually drops out, and simply loses all his interest in school. Usually the children do not say anything to their parents, when they have dropped out. Instead they go somewhere else to play at schooltime. But now and then the parents and the teacher keep in touch, so the parents get to know sooner or later. On the other hand the parents do not do anything to make the child attend school again. They do not think it is important enough to make a fuss about it.

Lack of motivation both in the parents as well as in the children is, no

doubt, one of the major reasons for greater stagnation and dropouts in the case of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe children in India.

6 Conclusions about drop-out children

For quite a long time compulsory primary education was the slogan for the political leaders of pre-independent India. Now, after independence, universalisation of Elementary Education is receiving the maximum importance. Constant efforts are being made to provide educational facilities for all the children in the State. But in Orissa where 40 per cent of the area is covered by Tribal Sub-plan Blocks and 38 per cent of the population belong to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, provision of educational facilities is quite an uphill task.
What is aimed at in respect of Secondary Education is consolidation and qualitative improvement rather than expansion in numbers. Science apparatus and science books are being supplied for qualitative improvement of Secondary Education in the State. The curriculum for Secondary Education is also modernised to incorporate modern developments in Science & Technology.

A dropout is defined as " a pupil who leaves school, for any reason except death, before graduation or completion of a programme of studies and without transferring to another school " (Bislow, 1962 ; [1]). In other words, if a child who gets admission to a school leaves school before completing the prescribed course or class, he is referred to as a dropout.
Withdrawing from a situation with which one is dissatisfied is a common reaction. Some children withdraw mentally into a daydream world without removing themselves physically. Many more react to dissatisfaction by physical withdrawal. They drop out of school before completing the requirements for a diploma or degree (Brown, 1962 ; [1]).
Conditions that often predispose a child to drop out are a feeling of academic or social failure and an inability to see how education will help him to reach his goals for adult life.
But dropping out behaviour is a complex action encompassing so many factors such as socioeconomic status, parents' level of education, siblings' level of education, parents' value of education, parents' occupational status, students' motivation, social contacts, mental and physical health and material possessions.
It is possible, often in elementary school, to tell which students are most likely to drop out. Boys and girls who have few friends and belong to no group show a dislike for school that increases as they grow older. Those

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[1] " Cognitive-affective abilities and social backgrounds of tribal and non-tribal primary school dropouts " by Amrendra Narayan Yadav

who are accepted by peers and teachers have more favourable attitudes towards school and are far less likely to drop out.

Schreiber reported in 1968 that if a child who enters school at the age of 6, comes from a home where (a) his father is not working and (b) there is no phone, the chance is 8 in 10 that he will drop out before graduation. The middle class families usually prepare their children to compete successfully in school, while the lower class children are not prepared to conform to the academic and informal requirements of the school. They are not prepared to be studious, obedient and docile and thus come into conflict with the middle class teacher. Then the disadvantaged child excuses himself for the frequent failures in his academic environment by dropping out of school.
In 1978-79 the drop out rate at the end of class 5 was 77.8 per cent but by 1988-89 it was reduced to 48 per cent. The drop out rate is very large at the primary stage, especially for class 1, and it is larger for girls than for boys. It is most common that boys drop out because of adverse school experiences, whereas it is most common that girls drop out because of adverse home circumstances.
The probabilities of accepting dropping out as a solution are maximised when the individual has contacts with persons who have dropped out, which would include parents and siblings who never finished school and do not value education highly.

The dropout rate can be reduced considerably - many large cities have programmes, but the deprived child, wherever he is, needs much help.
According to the factors that might lead to drop out, the programme could be drawn up as follows (Education in Orissa 1988-89):

- A special kind of curriculum should be designed for the tribal children, based on the immediate accessible environment of these children.
- Parents should be involved in the school and the teaching processes of the children to bridge the wide gap between the home and the school.
- Stimulation of associative and conceptual skills through pictures and newspapers and opportunities to listen, understand and express should be provided to tribal underachievers and drop-outs.
- Special incentive programmes, such as midday meals, dresses, books, toys, prizes and scholarships should be provided to retain the children in the school.

7 Summary

• India is more than seven times as large as Sweden and has a population of 800 million people.
The Indians usually have a lot of children because of the fact that many children die before the age of five.
Most of the Indian people are Hindu, and the largest part of the population speak Hindi. You can also find 22 other principal languages and hundreds of "mother-tongues".
The caste system in India is for most Indians a matter of course. Those who are standing outside the system are called "scheduled castes". They, and also the tribals, have got fixed numbers of places at educational institutions as well as in most public positions today.
All the schools in India are subjected to their federal state's governing.
The average literacy rate is 36.22 per cent (1981) but it varies a lot from rural to urban areas. Most of the drop-out children are girls or children from a low caste and/or tribal families.

• Orissa is situated in the Eastern part of India and the capital is called Bhubaneswar. The state has a population of about 30 million (1990), and is one of the poorest states in India. About 70 per cent live below the so-called poverty line (1989), something which could depend on the fact that Orissa has got a lot of small villages with scheduled tribals, and also a lot of scheduled castes.
The pattern of the Indian educational system is 10+2+3, which means 10 years of Elementary Education, 2 years of college and 3 years at the university.
The literacy rate in Orissa is 34.12 per cent - slightly less than the national average. The difference between male literacy and female literacy though is quite big.

• About 30 per cent of the children who begin school in the cities finish class 10. In small villages, the drop-out rate is much higher. In those areas about 95 per cent of the children, who begin school, drop out before the enrolment in the university, if they begin school at all. The parents of those children are usually illiterate and do not value education highly. They need their children to look after siblings or to help them in the fields.
There are a lot of reasons for dropping out behaviour. It could be due to adverse school experiences as well as different home circumstances, the stage of cultivation, the weather, or actually the fact that there is no place to read at home, and no possibility to get any help with the homework.

A special educational programme that is prepared in a lot of cities is very important for India's future. The realization of this can reduce the drop out rate considerably, and that is really what the children need, whether they believe it or not.

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Abstract card

Ekstrand, G. (Ed.) Drop-out in schools in India: Minor Field Studies in Orissa 1990. Educational and Psychological Interactions (Malmö, Sweden: School of Education), No. 112, 1992.

The report presents two Minor Field Studies papers by teacher trainees at the Malmö School of Education. The reports, Drop-outs in Orissa, by Elisabeth Rosén, and Education in India, A study of Drop-out Children in Orissa, by Anna Hedström, penetrate the important problem of drop-out in Indian schools. The reports are complementary to each other, and treat the subject from different angles.

Keywords: Cultural values, developing countries, development work, drop-out, India, Orissa, primary education, secondary education, socialization.

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Ekstrand, G. (Ed.) Drop-out in schools in India: Minor Field Studies in Orissa 1990. Educational and Psychological Interactions (Malmö, Sweden: School of Education) No. 112, 1992.

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